SIR HEW OF EGLINTOUN

AND

Huchown off the Awle Ryale:

A BIOGRAPHICAL CALENDAR AND LITERARY ESTIMATE.

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I.—The Personal Problem.

A GREAT problem of poetic identity was left for posterity to solve when about the year 1420, while James I. was still a prisoner in England, the chronicler Andrew of Wyntoun wrote:

Huchown off the Awle Ryale,
In till his Gest Hystoryalle
Cauld Lucius Hiberius Empryoure,
Quhen Kyng off Brettane was Arthoure.
Bk. v., line 4301.

And the problem of the personality of the poet is only secondary to a still more important question—the identification of his works. One proposition appears to be universally accepted, viz., that Huchown's *Gest Hystoryalle* was the alliterative poem *Morte Arthure* as we now have it, allowance being made for a very small percentage of scribal change. The position of that poem strikes different critics in very various fashion, and as the views, which twelve months of close study have commended to me, place the author on a platform far loftier than has hitherto been accorded to him, it is desirable to begin with an examination of the grounds on which, for close upon a century, literary antiquaries, both English and Scottish, have reckoned Huchown a Scot, and have in general regarded him as one and the same person with the good Sir Hew of Eglintoun mourned by Dunbar in his poetical Lament.

Friends of Huchown, foes of Sir Hew, partisans of Scotland, and English gainsayers alike, may welcome as a much-needed preliminary an abstract and brief chronicle fiom public records and family archives of the external facts touching the career of the Ayrshire knight, round whom there now gathers so keen a controversy. It is no idle debate this struggle for the body of a dead poet, for by the assent of all critics the alliterative poems

involved contain work of supreme distinction, wide knowledge of medieval literature, and great power of language and form. The following Calendar of Events in the life of Sir Hew has been somewhat hastily drawn up with the object of providing exact references to the original sources; it neither pretends to completeness nor to such systematic arrangement as would clearly illustrate the life of Sir Hew in relation to his time. Nevertheless, the few brief annotations between the entries may serve the purpose of establishing some sort of sequence and connection among them, whereby the bearing of certain of the facts may be discerned. In the twelfth century a settler named Eglin or Eglun, mentioned in the records of the burgh of Irvine, had possessed and given name to the estate of Eglintoun, which lay adjacent in that part of Ayrshire. Bryce, Hugo, and Rodolph appear as owners subsequently, the last being on record in a transaction with the community of Irvine in 1205. Nearly a century passes, and then amongst the signatories to the Ragman Roll in 1296 appears the name of Raulf d'Egglinton whose seal, with the device of a hare in her form, or rabbit feeding amid foliage, carried the inscription Sigillum Radulfi de Eglintun. (Palgrave's *Documents* i., 171, Bain's *Calendar* ii., No. 776, also pp. 194, 205, 549). In August, of the same year, Rauf de Eglynton acts along with Adam de la More and William de la More on a jury of Ayrshire landowners, who, sitting at Berwick, found that young Sir Alan la Zuche was next heir to Dame Elena la Zuche in one third of the half part of Irvine. (Bain's *Calendar* ii., No. 824, article 6). The great cleavage of the war of independence was beginning. The Zouche family, descended by the mother's side from the Scottish house of De Quency, soon ceased to hold their Scottish lands. The Mores (from Rowallan, it is understood) rose to distinction in the person of Reginald who was to become Chamberlain of Scotland, and whose daughter Sir Hew of Eglintoun was one day to marry. Of Rauf of Eglintoun, who was apparently not a Knight, practically nothing is written unless it be that he received a letter in the summer of 1297 from Edward I., requiring him to assist Hugo de Cressingham, then about to start on the disastrous march which was to halt somewhat sharply at Stirling Bridge (Stevenson's *Historical Documents* ii., 167-9). After this comes an utter silence of five and forty years, in which no word makes itself heard of Rauf or his family. No data exist to make us secure in speculating whether our Hugo was the son

or the grandson of Rauf. What side Rauf took, where he lived, whom he married, where he died, where the young Hugo was born and reared—all this is unknown. Our Eglintoun calendar is a blank for many years. There is reason to believe that two of the sons of Reginald More (who had a special connection[1] with the monastery of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, and with the Order of Knights Hospitallers in this country) were educated in England. At any rate these two future brothers-in-law of Hugo received in 1333 safe conduct[2] for five years' residence in England. No such gleam of early record brings light to the mystery of Hugo's childhood and youth. Not till 1342 is the silence broken. To the great joy of Scotland, King David Bruce had returned from France. Full of youthful chivalrous energy, he invaded England three times in the year 1342. If in the second of these expeditions he was rather unlucky, we at least are fortunate in making, through his army's mishap, our first acquaintance with Hugo of Eglintoun. A number of young knights had been created who rode with their king, as Wyntoun tells us, "to wyn thare schone," but fate was adverse, and five of them, Stewart, Eglintoun, Craigie, Boyd, and Fullarton falling into an ambush became the prisoners of Robert of Ogle,[3] a well known and gallant Northumbrian, probably at the time stationed not far from Hexham in Tynedale. (*Rotuli Scotiæ* i., 389, 649). This group of Ayrshire knights was a profitable capture for Robert of Ogle, who exacted a large ransom for these newly belted tyros of chivalry.

"Tyro":—that is the epithet applied by Bower (*Scotichronicon* ii. 334) and equally involved in Wyntoun's expression about the young knights' winning their "schone," or as we might now phrase it, winning their spurs. By the usage of chivalry, the seven years of infancy were followed by seven years of pagehood; then seven years of service as esquire (La Curne's *Memoires* (1826) i. 27, 51) made the tyro eligible for knighthood, at that time usually conferred on the field. Hugo, therefore, it is clear, must have been over twenty-one years of age in 1342. One of his comrades in misfortune was "Stewart," probably one of the brothers of Robert the Steward. The value of the story of the capture is that it identifies the prisoner of 1342 with Hugo, and proves that he was

(1.) *Registrum Passelet.* pp. 27-46. Mr. John Edwards in *Glasgow Archæological Society's Transactions* (1899,) New Series, iii. 320, 320.

(2.) *Bain's Cal.* ii. 1099.

(3) Robert of Ogle is mentioned by Barbour in *The Bruce* xix. 359.

then over twenty-one. So our Calendar may begin with a pretty safe inference that he was born about, or perhaps not long before, the year 1320.

II.—A Calendar of the Public Life of Sir Hew of Eglintoun.

1320.—About this time, or perhaps not long before, Hugo de Eglintona is born.

In 1341 David II. returns from France.

1342.—Hugo is knighted and takes part in an expedition of David II. into England, thus described :—

Syne rade he thryis wyth stalwart hand
Owt owre the marchis off Ingland,
And first he rade in his manere
Undyre off Murrave the Erlis banere,
And brynt Penyre, and wyth-all
Than off the Rois be brynt the Hall.
Syne efftyrwart a rade off were
He made with displayid banere,
Qwhare the knychtis that he had made,
Owtwartis to wyn thare schone than rade
Wyth a rycht sturdy company.
Robert off Ogill wes nere thareby
Wyth a gret rowte, and qwhen he sawe
Thai knychtis swa cum in till a schawe,
He wythdrw hym (for wys wes he
And in till weris awyssé)
Wythin myris in till a qwhawe
That wes lyand nere that schawe.
The knychtis that sawe his wythdrawyng
Thai folowyd fast on in a lyng,
And prekyd swa owt off aray,
Qwhill off thare folk in myris lay
That thare levyd noucht fyfty
Togyddyr in all that company.
Than Ogill turnyd and abade,
And thai in hy upon hym rade,
And justyd off were apertly:
Thare wes a bargane off felny.

On bathe the halffis slane war men,
Bot the knychtis the wers had then
For thare folk vencust ware ilkane,
And fyve knychtis in fycht ware tane—

Stwart, Eglyntown, and Cragy,
Boyde and Fowlartown. Thir worthy
Ogill has had till his presowne,
And syne delyveryd thame for rawnsoune.

—*Wyntoun* viii., 5981-6010.

The corresponding passage in Bower (ii. 334) states that David II., with a great army and with banner displayed, entered England, and of his tyros whom he there girt with the sword of knighthood, five of the number, viz., Stewart, Eglinton, Cragy, Boyd, and Fullarton, Sir Robert of Ogil guilefully circumventing took prisoners in a marsh. After they had redeemed themselves by a great sum of gold, he sent them despoiled (*vacuos*) to the king.

If in the first expedition the tyro Hew took part, he would make acquaintance with the Tarn Wadling, which lies on the direct route from Carlisle to Penrith. Tarn Wadling plays a large part in the *Awntyrs of Arthure.*

In 1346, David II. is captured at the battle of Durham or Neville's Cross.

1347.—Sir Hew gets the "relief" of Meldrum granted to him by Robert the Steward.

1348.—June 20.—Sir William More, at Linlithgow, grants to Sir Hew and to "Agnes, my sister, his wife," lands in Cowall, Argyllshire (held *in capite* of the Steward) in security of 200 marks.
—*Confirmation charter circa 1373, noted of that date below.*

Sir Hew has thus married the daughter of the Chamberlain of Scotland. Sir Reginald More died in 1341.

—*Exchequer Rolls* i., 543.

1357.—March 15.—Sir Hew, along with the Steward, witnesses charter by David II. at Edinburgh.

—*Book of Carlaverock* ii., 411.

On October 3, a treaty is concluded at Berwick for the release of David II., who had remained prisoner in England ever since 1346.

1358.—May 8.—Robert the Steward, in his court (*curia nostra*) at Crieff, confirms a charter, and Sir Hew is a witness.

—*Registrum de Insula Missarum (Inchaffery)*, p. 55.

May 11.—Safe conduct is granted at Westminster for Sir Hew to pass into and return from England, with six knights.

—*Rotuli Scotiæ* i., 823a.

Sir Hew is probably enough already on his way to London when this special safe conduct is granted, and may have travelled

with the Queen of Scotland and Sir Robert of Erskine, (*Rot. Scot.* i., 822.) A proclamation has been made giving a general permission to attend the Festival of St. George (23rd April), at which there are great tournaments. (*Knyghton:* year 1358.)

Nine days later, John, eldest son of the Steward, has safe conduct also, to visit the shrines of the saints in England.

On June 6, the Steward himself has safe conduct.

On June 24, his son John, a hostage, is released by Edward III.

On July 14, David II. has licence to proceed to England.

—*Rotuli Scotiæ* i., 828.

The Kyng Davy in Yngland raid
As offt tym in oys he had,
And at Lundoun play hym wald he,
For thare was rycht gret specialte
Betwen hym and the Kyng Edward.

—*Wyntoun* viii., 7047.

One is prone to ask the question: Was David II., like some other kings, ever made a Knight of the Garter?

November 12.—Sir Hew witnesses charter of lands in Garioch, Aberdeenshire, to Sir Robert of Erskine by David II. at Scone.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 524. *Aberdeen and Banff Collections* i., 539.

1358-9.—January 11.—Safe conduct is granted at Westminster for Sir Hew, with Sir Archibald Douglas, to pass into England as far as Canterbury, to return by way of London to Scotland, and to go back again to England—to last till Easter.

—*Rot. Scot.* i., 833a.

1358-9.—February 21.—The signets of David II., Thomas Earl of Mar, Sir Robert of Erskine, and Sir Hew ("of Engelton") are, in the absence of the Great Seal of Scotland, appended to a declaration by David II. that the respite granted to him in paying an instalment of his ransom is not to prejudice the rights of Edward III. under the treaty. This declaration is sealed at the Friars Preachers, London.

—*Bain's Cal.* iv., 27.

The position of Thomas, Earl of Mar, as Chamberlain, and Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew, as the two Justiciars of Scotland, at this period, naturally accounts for their being concerned in this negotiation. Sir Robert of Erskine appears to have in a peculiar degree enjoyed the confidence of David II., although he also was in constant association with Sir Hew, and possibly no less faithful to the interests of the Steward, the heir to the throne.

1359.—Sir Hew gets allowance of 20s. remission of customs duty by David II.

—*Exchequer Rolls* i., 600.

1359-60.—January 10.—The Steward and Sir Hew witness a charter by David II. at Edinburgh. Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew are here designated as Justiciars.

—*Douglas Book* iii., 395.

March 23.—Sir Hew witnesses a charter in favour of Sir Robert of Erskine by David II. at Stirling.

—*Registrum Episcop. Brechinensis* i., 17.

1360.—Sir Hew pays contribution of Cunningham towards the King's ransom.

—*Exchequer Rolls* ii., 47.

1360.—May 17.—On the bank of the water of Forth, near Stirling, in presence of Sir Robert of Erskine and Sir Hew, Justiciars of Scotland *(Justiciariorum Scocie)*, an agreement of reconciliation and assythment is made between John of Drummond on the one part and John and Alexander of Menteith on the other regarding the slaughter of Walter of Menteith and Malcolm and William, his brother, by the said John of Drummond and others. Robert the Steward, as head of both the clans, also concurs and remits all suit for said slaughter.

—*Book of Menteith* ii., 239.

1360 (circa).—Robert the Steward grants to Sir Hew and Dame Egidia, his wife, an annual rent of a stone of wax from Monfodevrry, in Cunningham.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 3. *Eglinton MSS. (Hist. MSS. Com.)*, p. 6.

The Lady Egidia was a half-sister of Robert the Steward, and at the time of her marriage to Sir Hew was the widow of Sir James Lindsay. Sir Hew's second marriage thus connected him still more closely than his first in relationship with Robert the Steward.

The charter has interest as suggesting where Sir Hew's midnight oil came from.

May 25.—A charter is granted at Edinburgh by the Earl of Angus in favour of Sir Hew granting lands in Cowall. The Steward is a witness.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 4. *Eglinton MSS.*, p. 7.

October 20.—Sir Hew witnesses a charter by David II. at Perth in favour of Sir James of Douglas of Dalkeith.

—*Honor of Morton* ii., 56.

1361.—Sir Hew pays contribution of Cunningham.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 75.

In this year the Foul Death makes its second visitation to England. Wyntoun calls it "the secund Dede." In 1362 it came to Scotland.

—*Wyntoun* viii., 7135.

1361.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert the Steward to Sir John Stewart of Darnley.

—*The Lennox* ii., 33.

1361-2.—January 10.—Sir Hew witnesses charter of Dreghorn by the Steward to above Sir John Stewart.

—*Original in Register House.*

1361-2.—January 17.—Sir Hew receives from John Moray at Ardrossan a charter of Hormishocis in favour of himself and Dame Egidia.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii, 5. *Eglinton MSS.*, 7.

1362 (circa).—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert the Steward at Methven to Maurice of Drummond.

—*Book of Menteith* ii., 249.

After June, 1362, probably between Michaelmas and Martinmas (*Scalacronica*, 202), Johanna, sister of Edward III. and Queen of David II., dies in England and is buried at London.

1363.—April 26.—Safe conduct is granted at Westminster for Sir Hew to pass to England and Canterbury on pilgrimage to the glorious martyr St. Thomas and to return—lasting till Michaelmas.

—*Rot. Scot.* i., 872.

There is a great tilting in Smithfield, London, during the first five days of May (*Walsingham:* years 1362-3), in connection, no doubt, with St. George's Festival. By the statutes of the Order of the Garter the actual assemblies are often later than St. George's Day.

David II. marries Margaret of Logie in this month of April, 1363. (*Wyntoun* viii., 7173. *Bower* ii., 369, 379.)

The Steward has been entering into mutual bonds with other discontented nobles, but in May, 1363, he makes submission to, and terms of reconciliation with, the King. (*Bower* ii., 369; See also *Scalacron.* 202-3). The cause of the revolt is not clear, though it is suspected it is connected with proposals next to be noted.

David II. and others (not including the Steward) having gone to London, a remarkable meeting is held there between him and Edward III. and their respective councillors on 27th November,

1363. A leading article provisionally agreed upon is that failing heirs male of the body of David II. the King of England shall succeed to the Kingdom of Scotland. (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 493.)

1363.—December 5.—Safe conduct is granted to Sir Hew to pass to and from England with six companions for a year.

—*Rot. Scot.* i. 876.

A similar safe conduct is granted at Westminster to Sir Robert of Erskine on 8th December. (*Rot. Scot.* i., 877a.) It appears, however, from Bain's *Cal.* iv., 93, that Sir Robert is already at the court of Edward III. on 6th December, on which date he and others of the Scottish suite, including John of Logie (the Queen's son), receive rich presents from the English King. The inference is that probably both Sir Robert and Sir Hew are in London when these safe conducts are granted, and that Erskine at any rate has attended the important meeting of 27th November.

The presents on 6th December include very valuable cups given to Earl Douglas and Sir Robert of Erskine, and minor gifts to various officers of the Scottish King's household, including two Scottish knights, unnamed. (*Bain* iv., 93.) The suggestion is very strong that Douglas has been, and Erskine is supposed to be, won over to the English interest. (See Lang's *Hist. of Scotland* i., 263.)

It is peculiar and significant that on 1st January, 1363-4, David II., in two charters to Durham and Coldingham, styles Sir Robert of Erskine by the unique appellation *confederato nostro.* (Raine's *North Durham*, app. Nos. 85, 86.)

On 4th March, 1363-4, the proposal of 27th November is submitted to the Scottish Parliament, which refuses to entertain it, and deputes Sir Robert of Erskine and others to go to London and try to make better terms. (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 493.)

The Commissioners go to London, and there a revised proposal is adjusted, which they undertake to report to the Parliament of Scotland without committing themselves to it. By this, the succession to the throne of Scotland, failing heirs male of the body of David II., is to fall to a son of the King of England other than the heir apparent, (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 495.) This indicates Prince Lionel, son of Edward III.

These negotiations show how strong a pressure on Scotland was being imposed by Edward III., and how greatly constrained the Scottish statesmen were to keep on good terms with him without surrendering the national independence or provoking a fresh outbreak of the war.

Margaret of Logie, although a fascinating if "full-blown" widow, was, as John Riddell with keen relish points out (*Peer-*

age Law, 984), of "ripened matronly attractions," and of experience in "wiles and allurements," but of "mature age." This last fact gives added point to one of the clauses above mentioned, common to both editions of the English proposal.

There had been special celebrations over King Edward's 50th birthday. (*Knyghton:* year 1363.) It was, above all, an age of chivalry.

1363-4.—January 2.—A petition is granted by Pope Urban V. at Avignon, presented for a dispensation to John Waleys and Elizabeth de Eglinton, who have intermarried although related in the third and fourth degrees of kindred, that they may remain in the marriage contracted, declaring their present and future offspring legitimate.

—*Calendar of Papal Registers, Petitions*, i., 476.

This Elizabeth of Eglinton was presumably Sir Hew's daughter and heiress, who was subsequently married to Sir John of Montgomerie, and whose descendants, Lords of Montgomerie, ultimately became Earls of Eglinton. John Waleys, her present husband, is probably the lord of Riccarton, not far from Eglinton. (*Reg. Episc., Glasg.*, 285.)

1364-5.—January 12.—Sir Hew witnesses a charter by Robert the Steward at Perth, the often-debated and highly important charter wherein is recorded in most formal terms the fact that a papal dispensation had been duly obtained for his marriage with Elizabeth More.

—*Registrum Episcop. Glasguensis*, 273.
Anderson's Diplomata, preface, p. 38.

The political circumstances of the time, and especially the English intrigue above noted, give powerful reason why at this juncture the Steward takes steps to put on a documentary footing the proof of the canonical legality of his union with Elizabeth More. It may be noted that Sir Robert of Erskine is not a witness to the deed. Observe the dates of this entry and of that which follows.

1364-5.—January 13.—Sir Hew attends the meeting of Parliament in the House of the Friars Preachers at Perth, which discusses the revised proposal from England and accepts the terms generally, but substitutes for the proposal about the succession of a younger son of the English King an agreement to grant to him Edward Balliol's lands in Galloway along with the Isle of Man, both to be held as fiefs of Scotland. The re-grant of Annandale which has

been asked by the Scots is left to be dealt with at the pleasure of the English King. The Steward also is present and agrees.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 495-6.

It is to be noted that the Parliament's refusal of Edward's younger son as heir to the Scottish throne in a certain contingency is not explicit. Was there some subterfuge, ultimately rendered nugatory by Prince Lionel's premature death?

1365.—Sir Hew receives payment of terce due to his wife Dame Egidia from Dundee customs.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 222.

These Rolls, vol. ii., shew that this payment was continued in 1366 p. 261, 1368 p. 308, 1369 p. 345, 1370 p. 357, 1371 p. 364, 1372 p. 373, 1373 p. 435, 1374 p. 460, and 1375 p. 500.

May 20.—Safe conduct is granted at Westminster for Sir Hew to pass to and from England with twelve knights for a year.

—*Rot. Scot.* i., 893*b*.

David II. has safe conduct at the same time. A new treaty of peace is made in June.

July 24.—Sir Hew, with the Steward and Sir Robert of Erskine, attends Parliament at Perth, when it is resolved that as a condition of peace Scotland will aid England (if the latter is invaded) with 400 men at arms and 600 archers at the cost of England, and if Scotland is invaded, England will aid her for 120 years with 200 men at arms and 300 archers at the cost of Scotland.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 497.

At this time intrigue is busy to secure the adhesion of Scotsmen to the English interest. Great numbers of safe conducts are granted to Scottish traders, pilgrims, and students. John Barbour, the poet, receives safe conduct to visit St. Denis in France. Edward III. is cultivating Scotsmen by all means in his power

—*Rotuli Scot.* i., 892, 897, etc.

1366.—July 26.—Sir Hew, in Parliament at Scone, witnesses charter by David II. attesting redelivery of lands of Logie in Strathearn by Robert the Steward, Earl of Strathearn, to Sir John of Logie (the Queen's son).

—*Red Book of Grandtully* i., 132.*

July 26.—The Steward, with Sir Hew and others, gives his consent to the grant to Sir John of Logie, of all and whole the King's lands of Annandale.

—*Red Book* i., 133.*

On 6th July, 1366, Sir Robert of Erskine, Justiciar, holds Justice ayre at Melrose and seals the deed with Seal of Justiciary of Lothian—*Si. Officii Justiciarie Laudonie.*

—*Raine's North Durham*, appx. No. 326.

1366 (circa).—Robert the Steward grants to Sir Hew the offices of Bailie of Cunningham and Chamberlain of Irvine.

—*Mem. Montgom.* 6. *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

On December 13, 1366 David II. gives John of Logie seisin of Annandale.

—*Bain's Cal.* iv., 127-8. *Exch. Rolls* ii., pref. lviii.

1366.—December 14.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by David II. at Edinburgh.

—*Honor of Morton*, 63.

1366-7.—January 15.—Robert the Steward at Erth grants letter declaring that he has given Sir Hew the office of Bailie of the Barony of Cunningham.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii. 6. *Eglinton MSS.*, 9.

January 15.—Same place, the Steward grants letters declaring that, as he had given Sir Hew the offices of Bailie and Chamberlain of Irvine, he has also granted him one third of the fines.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 6. *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

1366-7.—[Undated, but probably of or about the same date as last two entries.] The Steward grants a letter declaring that, as he had given to Sir Hew the offices of Bailie of Cunningham and Chamberlain of the Burgh of Irvine, he is to have for his labour one third of the fines.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 7. *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

1367.—September 1-4.—At Morehouselaw and Roxburgh Sir Hew is engaged in negotiating a Border treaty for keeping the peace on the Marches. David II. is present on 4th September. This document is in French, and styles Sir Hew as "Mons' Hugh de Eglinton."

—*Rot. Scot.* i., 913-4.

September 27.—Sir Hew attends Parliament at Scone along with the Steward and Sir Robert of Erskine, when drastic provisions are made to overhaul the financial position of the country and the Crown.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 501.

1367 (circa).—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert the Steward relative to Sir William More, the Canons of Sempringham, and the Monastery of Paisley.

—*Registrum Passelet*, 31.

David II. and Queen Margaret have safe conduct to Canterbury on 4th January, 1367-8 (*Rot. Scot.* i., 917*a*).

1362-1368.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert the Steward.

/ —*The Melvilles, Earls of Melville* iii., 13.

1367-8.—January 22.—Safe conduct is granted at Westminster for Sir Hew to pass with twelve knights to and from London as an envoy (*nuncius*) of David II.

—*Rot. Scot.* i., 917*b*.

1368.—May 10.—Along with the Steward, Sir Hew witnesses charter by David II. at Elgin.

—*Reg. Moraviense*, 319.

1368.—June 12-22.—At the Parliament of Scone, the work of which includes business touching the lawless "Out Isles," it is resolved that the Chamberlain of Scotland, with Sir Hew and three other knights, shall be sent by David II. to visit the four royal castles of Lochleven, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbar, and inspect the fortifications, artillery, and victualling.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 504.

The judicial business of the Parliament shews the Steward appearing before the King to claim, and Archibald of Douglas to defend, "reason and right" (*de jure et racione*), while in another case a decision is "challenged" (*calumpniatus*). The discussions are purely legal, and it can hardly be doubted that the Justiciars sit with the King.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 504-6.

It is interesting to turn to the *Awntyrs of Arthure*, lines 345, 350, 362, 680.

June 22.—Sir Hew witnesses charter of Carrick by David II. at Scone to John, eldest son of the Steward.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 531.

1368.—July 4.—Sir Hew witnesses charter in favour of Sir Robert of Erskine of lands in Garioch by David II. at Stirling.

—*Aberdeen and Banff Collections* i,., 540.

July 9.—Sir Hew witnesses charter in favour of John Lyon by David II. at Stirling.

—*Abd. Banff Col.* i., 550.

August 5.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by John, Earl of Carrick, at Dundonald.

—*Original charter in Register House.*

It is, presumably, after this that the Steward and his three sons are imprisoned by David II. at the supposed instigation of Queen Margaret Logie. (*Bower* ii., 379.) They are in custody during part of 1368 and 1369. (*Exch. Rolls.* ii., 309.)

1369.—June 17.—Safe conduct is granted at Westminster for Sir Hew to pass to and return from France and England with twenty knights—to last for three years.

—*Rot. Scot.* i., 932.

About this time David II. raises his action for the divorce of Queen Margaret Logie. This brings about the release of the Steward and his son. (*Bower* ii., 380.) It seems natural to suppose that Sir Hew's journey to the English parts of France—and perhaps further, to Rome or Avignon—had to do with the divorce. A normal route to Rome in the 14th century passed through Lucerne across Mount "Godard" into Lombardy through Como, Milan, Pontremoli, Pietrasanta, Pisa, and Viterbo. (*Adam of Usk* 72-73.) This is the route of King Arthur in the alliterative *Morte Arthure.* A journey from Scotland to Rome would not occupy two months. Adam of Usk went from London to Rome in 41 days.

1369-70.—January 2.—Sir Hew witnesses a charter by John, Earl of Carrick, at Edinburgh.

—*Honor of Morton*, 83.

In Lent, 1369-70, Queen Margaret Logie is divorced. (*Bower* ii., 380.) She appeals to the Pope.

1370.—May 30.—Robert the Steward at Renfrew grants letter authorising Sir Hew and his heirs to re-enter upon the office of Bailie of Cunningham.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 7. *Eglinton MSS.*, 10.

Possibly the disturbance of Sir Hew's possession of office may have been brought about by the temporary imprisonment of the Steward.

1370-1.—February 22.—DAVID II. dies—succeeded by Robert the Steward as ROBERT II.

At this juncture it is of great importance to note the attitudes of public personages, for the succession of the Steward in spite of his birthrights secured and ratified by Parliamentary settlement was not a matter of course.

Quhen the King Davy thus was dede,
His sister-son in to his sted,
Schere Roberte Stewarte was made King,
Specialy throw the grete helpyng
Off gud Scher Roberte of Erskyne,
That Edinburgh, Dumbertane, and Strevelyne
Had in his kepyng than al thre.
Worthy wys and lele was he,
He knew Roberte the Stewartis rycht,
Therefor he helpit him wyth all his mycht

To gare hym have that his suld be.
Than com he wyth a gret menye
Tyl Lynlythgw, quhare than was
The Erl Wylliame off Douglas,
That schupe hym for to mak hym bare,
Bot George the Erle off March there,
And Johne his brother wyth thare men,
Cam agane the Douglas then,
Sa that this Erle off Douglas
Throuch thare strentht astonyit was.

—*Wyntoun* ix., 1-20.

Can it have been that Douglas was not himself a claimant to the throne (as stated by Bower in a confused and erroneous manner) but represented the English interest and the agreement of 1364? Sir Robert of Erskine was perhaps not expected by either Douglas or Edward III. to play the loyal part he did. Prince Lionel's death, a year before King David's, had perhaps closed that chapter of intrigue.

1371.—March 27.—Sir Hew is probably a witness to the important declaration by John, Earl of Carrick, now Steward of Scotland, of his right of succession as heir apparent of Robert II. His seal is not now attached to the deed, but on a tag is written, *Dominus H. de Eglintone.* The declaration is made at Scone after the coronation of Robert II.

—*National MSS., Scot.* ii., No. xliii. A. Hay's *Vindication of Elizabeth More* (reprinted in Tracts illustrative of Antiq. of Scotland, 1836, p. 141).

1371.—March 30.—Sir Hew witnesses an indenture made at Perth between Robert, Earl of Menteith, the King's son, and Isabella, Countess of Fife, who accepts the Earl as her heir, and assigns to him on certain terms the tower and town of Falkland.

—*Book of Menteith* ii., 253.

In 1369 an important constitutional step had been resolved upon when the Parliament at Perth decided to institute a sort of privy council. (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 507-8.) Very little is recorded of this body under David II., but a most important minute of 3rd May, 1371, records the proceedings of one meeting of the similar body called into existence on the accession of Robert II. It probably refers to the first meeting of this privy council, Robert II. having only been crowned on 26th March, 1371.

1371.—May 3.—At Edinburgh, the King being then present there, it was ordained in his privy council concerning the estate or

manner of living of the King and Queen (*in suo consilio de statu seu modo vivendi ipsius Regis et etiam Regine*), and concerning the ordering and government of his houses and the keeping and maintaining of his castles to the effect contained in another register relative to the arrangements and such like matters not permanent. There were present at said council the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Douglas, Sir John of Carrick, Chancellor, Sir Walter of Biggar, Chamberlain, Sir Robert of Erskine, Sir James of Douglas, Sir Hew of Eglynton, and John Lyon, keeper of the privy seal.

—*Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 547.

1371.—May 4.—Robert II. at Edinburgh grants to Sir Hew the forfeiture of Giffen in Renfrewshire.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 10. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 84 (292); also 122 (14), *Eglinton MSS.*, 7.

1371.—May 5.—Robert II. at Edinburgh grants to Sir Hew a forfeiture of Allertoun in Kilbride, Lanarkshire.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 11. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 84 (290) ; also 121 (12).

May 6.—Robert II. at Edinburgh grants to Sir Hew a charter of lands resigned to him by Sir Robert of Erskine.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 11.

1371.—June 13.—Robert II. at St Andrews confirms charter by Sir Hew.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 11. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 82 (279) ; also 97 (6).

June 24.—Sir Hew, styled Lord of Ardrossan, witnesses charter by John, Earl of Carrick, the Steward, at Dundonald.

—*Reg. Glasg.*, 285.

John Waleys, lord of Riccarton (presumably Sir Hew's son-in-law), is a witness also.

December 4.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Dundonald.

—*Reg. Glasg.*, 289.

1371-2.—March 5.—Sir Hew witnesses charter to John of Foulartoun by Robert II. at Scone.

—Hay's *Vindication*, 109.

1371-2—March 9.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Scone confirming bargain (concerning sale of the county or earldom of Wigtown) between the Earl Thomas Fleming and Archibald of Douglas.

This fact is taken from a Douglas charter transumpt dated January, 1449, in my own possession.

1371-2.—March 10.—Robert II. confirms charter by Sir Hew to Alan of Lauder.

—*Earl of Lauderdale's MSS.*, 611.

1372—April 8.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Edinburgh to Burgh of Irvine arising out of a litigation between the burgesses of Ayr and Irvine.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 86 (302); also 88 (306).

1372—May 8.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Edinburgh.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i., 93 (327); also 98 (10).

1372.—June 28.—Robert II. at Perth grants charter to Sir Hew and his wife, "our dearest sister," of lands of Bonnington, etc. in shire of Edinburgh.

—*Mem. Montgom.*, ii., 12. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 91 (321); also 123 (22).

October 7.—Sir Hew witnesses charter of the county or earldom of Wigtown to Sir Archibald of Douglas by Robert II. at Stirling.

—*Douglas Charter transumpt, above mentioned.*

1372.—October 9.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Methven of earldom of Strathearn to David, the King's second son.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i., 87 (304).

1372.—Nov. 4.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II., at Linlithgow to Sir Robert of Erskine.

—*Hamilton MSS.*, p. 14.

1372-3.—February 7.—Sir Hew sits at Perth as one among several auditors *(auditoribus ad hoc specialiter deputatis)* of exchequer accounts. A colleague is Archdeacon John Barber.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 385.

1373.—April 3.—Sir Hew witnesses charter of Robert II. at Scone to Sir Robert of Erskine.

—*Acts Parl.* i., 562.

April 4.—Sir Hew attends Parliament at Scone touching the succession to the throne.

—*Acts Parl.* i., 549.

1373—April 24.—Sir Hew, along with John, Earl of Carrick, the Steward, at Edinburgh, grants charter concerning question between William More (Sir Hugh's brother-in-law by his first marriage) and the Abbey of Paisley.

—*Reg. Passelet*, 43.

1373.—April 24.—Robert II. at Edinburgh grants to Sir Hew all the hostilages in burghs and elsewhere and the lands thereof which belonged to the late Alexander, Earl of Buchan, and fell to the Crown by the forfeiture of the earl's heirs, and which have not been already given away by the King's predecessors.

—*Original deed in Register House.*

August 24.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Stirling to Sir Robert of Erskine.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 109 (64).

October 24.—He witnesses charter by Robert II. at Dunfermline.

—*Chiefs of Colquhoun* ii., 279.

1373.—November 11.—Robert II. at Ayr grants charter to Sir Hew of forfeiture of Michael of the Lardner.

—*Original deed at Register House.* See also *Mem. Montgom.*, ii., 12. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 103 (41).

[Circa 1373.]—Robert II. at Ardnele, Ayrshire, confirms charter of 20th June, 1348 in Sir Hew's favour.

—*Original in Register House.*

Ardnele, 17 miles from Dundonald, is close to Portincross, Ayrshire, the supposed point from which Robert II. used to sail to his residence at Rothesay. Bute was a favourite resort (*Exch. Rolls* ii., pref. lxxxiv.), where his predilections for the chase no doubt had ample scope (*Liber Pluscardensis* i., 311). Robert II. kept his yacht (*Exch. Rolls* iii., 667).

1373.—Sir Hew receives payment of £80 from Sheriff of Lanark (*Exch. Rolls* ii., 418); also of £40 (ii. 419); also of £124 17s. (ii., 421).

1373-4—February 18.—Sir Hew sits as an auditor *(ad hoc)* at Perth. The clerk of audit is John Barber.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 428.

1373-4.—February 24.—Sir Hew witnesses charter of confirmation to William Boyd of Kilmarnock by Robert II. at Perth.

—Hay's *Vindication*, 113.

1374.—October 12.—Robert II. at Perth grants charter of Lochlebogside, Renfrewshire, to Sir Hew and "our dearest sister," subject to payment of 10 marks a year for support of a chaplain in Glasgow Cathedral.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 12; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 136 (51); *also* 158 (20), *and Eglinton MSS.*, p. 7.

1374—November 11.—Payment of £33 6s. 8d. is made to Sir Hew to account of 700 marks granted to him by Robert II. for 7 years. (*Exch. Rolls* ii., 463.) Sir Hew also for the year preceding had got paid £39 11s. 8d. (*Exch. Rolls* ii., 464.) In 1375 he receives £66 13s. 4d. further to account, and the entry states that the item is *ex causa decreta per consilium.*

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 500 (and see writ noted below of 17th March, 1374-5).

1374-5.—January 2.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Perth.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 141 (73).

January 2.—Ditto.

—*Honor of Morton* ii., 111.

January 2.—Ditto.

—*Honor of Morton* ii., 113.

February 4.—Ditto.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 109 (65).

February 17.—Sir Hew sits as auditor at Perth.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 455.

March 17.—Robert II. at Perth grants precept to the Chamberlain, declaring his royal indebtedness to "his dearest brother," Sir Hew, in 550 marks, in complement of 700 marks formerly due, and intimating that he had given Sir Hew the Crown wards, reliefs, and marriages on the south side of the water of Forth; these isues to be made up if necessary to 100 marks a year until payment of the 550 marks.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 15. *Eglinton MSS.*, p. 8.

1374-5.—March 21.—At Ardrossan Sir Hew and Hugh of Auldiston make an indenture about a wadset over Cambusbaron, Stirlingshire, in Sir Hew's favour, for 80 marks.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 14. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 138 (61).

1375.—March 28.—Robert II. at Dunfermline confirms a wadset by Hugh of Auldiston over Cambusbaron, Stirlingshire, to Sir Hew.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 13. *Eglinton MSS.*, p. 7.

April 10.—Robert II. at Perth confirms the indenture between Hugh of Auldiston and Sir Hew, above mentioned, under date 21st March, 1374-5.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 14.
Reg. Mag. Sig. i., 138 (61); also 159 (29).

1375.—August 26.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Perth.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 141 (74).

1375-6.—Feb.-March.—John Barbour, twice describing the month of May in *The Bruce*, quotes from the descriptions of May in the alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, believed to have been one of Huchown's poems, while in the two corresponding descriptions of May in the Scottish poem, *The Buik of Alexander*, (which it is maintained by me was also written by Barbour), other quotations are given from the same passages of the alliterative *Troy* poem.

—*Destruction of Troy*, 12969-74, 2734-8, 1056-64. *Bruce*, v., 1-13; xvi., 63-71. *Buik of Alexander*, pp. 107, 248. *Neilson's John Barbour, Poet and Translator* (*Kegan, Paul & Co.*, 1900) pp. 10, 11.

1375-76.—March 5.—Sir Hew sits as an auditor at Perth.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 469.

March 14.—Again auditor at Perth.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 497.

March 17.—Sir Hew witnesses charter by Robert II. at Perth relative to the office of usher of the King's chancery *(capella)*, resigned by John de Capella.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 132 (24), with additional information in the *Roxburgh MSS.*, pp. 26-27.

These documents are of historical interest on the matter of official surnames. William, usher of our chancery *(capella)* was by David II. in 1363 confirmed as heir of Alexander de Capella. In 1376 the office had been given up by John de Capella in favour of William de Camera.

1376.—Sir Hew witnesses a charter by Robert, Earl of Fife (son of Robert II.) of date A.D. 1376 (no month given).

—*History of the Carnegies* ii., 491. *Earl of Southesk's MSS.*, 718.

1376.—June 26.—Robert II. at Perth grants annual rents of 50s. from Drumdow, 8s. 4d. from Stair, 33s. 4d. from Carse, and 40s. from Monyhagane—all in Ayrshire (once the property of Robert de Bruys, "our kinsman," and resigned by him) to Sir Hew, with license to mortify said annual rents, and apply and deliver them at mortmain wherever and to whomsoever he sees expedient.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 16. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i., 133 (29).

This very interesting permission—*licenciam ad mortificandum dictos annuos redditus et ipsos ad mortuam manum ponendum et tradendum*—has its pathetic suggestion that the good Sir Hew is setting his house in order and about to make his final bequests.

1376.—November 30.—Sir Hew witnesses a confirmation charter by Robert II. at Perth.

—*Reg. Mag. Sig.* i. 129 (8).

The regnal year is *quinto* (Robert II. came to the throne 22nd February, 1370-1), but as the deed confirmed and engrossed in the charter is expressly dated at the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (30th November, A.D., 1376), the regnal year of the confirmation charter is probably in error for *sexto*.

1376.—By command of the King, Sir Hew is paid £266 13s. 4d. in gold nobles.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 520.

1376.—Sir Hew again obtains from Exchequer £66 13s. 4d. in part payment of 200 marks received in Flanders by William of Lauder.

—*Exch. Rolls* ii., 522.

1376-7.—February 3.—Before this date Sir Hew dies (*Exch. Rolls*, ii., 518-522), probably leaving a will providing an endowment for masses for his soul, to be celebrated in the Monastery of Kilwinning.

—*Mem. Montgom.*, as noted below.

On 23rd September, 1545, Hew, first Earl of Eglinton, made his testament, whereby, among other provisions, he appointed his body to be buried in the choir of the Monastery of Kilwinning, and gave the following directions :

Moreover, I ordain him [my Executor] to cause celebrate a perpetual obit in the Monastery of Kilwinning, and to found the same for the weal of my own soul and that of my wife, as was settled by will (*prout conditum est*) for the weal of the souls of the late Hew of Eglintoune and Lord Alexander Montgomery of that ilk.

—*Mem. Montgom.* ii., 132. *Eglinton MSS.*, 26.

Alexander, Lord Montgomery, was lord from 1429 until 1470. The descent of the family was from Sir Hew of Eglintoun, whose daughter and heiress, Elizabeth (presumably after the death of her first husband, John Wallace of Riccarton), married Sir John of Montgomery, in possession from about 1380 till about 1398. Sir John was succeeded by his son, Sir John (1398-1429), and Sir John's son, Alexander, was the first Lord Montgomery (1429-1470), succeeded by Alexander, Lord Montgomery (1470-83), and Hew, the first Earl of Eglinton (1483-1545).

—*Mem. Montgom.* i., 20-5.

1377.—In the Monastery of Kilwinning, therefore, most probably, and in the choir of its church, where the masses are said for his soul, Sir Hew of Eglintoun is buried. REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

III.—The Poetical Testimony.

About 1420 it is written, concerning the conquests of King Arthur and the consequent anger of the Roman Emperor:—

Qharefor the state off the empyre
Hely movyt in to gret ire,
The hawtane message till hym send
That wryttyn in The Brute is kend :
And HUCHOWN OFF THE AWLE RYALE
In till hys GEST HYSTORIALLE
Has tretyd this mar cwnnandly,
Than suffycyand to pronowns am I.
As in oure matere we procede
Sum man may fall this buk to rede
Sall call the Autour to rekles
Or argue perchans hys cunnandnes,
Syne Huchowne off the Awle Ryale
In till hys Gest Hystoryalle
Cauld Lucius Hyberius empryoure
Quhen Kyng off Brettane was Arthoure.
Huchowne bath and the autore
Gyltles ar off gret errore
For the autor fyrst to say [1]
The storyis quha that will assay
Off Iber, Frere Martyne, and Vincens
Storyis to cwn dyd diligens
And Orosius all foure
That mony storys had sene oure
Cald noucht this Lucyus Empryoure
Quhen Kyng off Brettane wes Arthoure.
Bot off The Brwte the story sayis
That Lucyus Hiberius in hys dayis
Wes off the hey state Procurature,
Nowthir cald Kyng na Empryowre
Fra blame than is the Autore qwyte
As [he] befor hym fand to wryte
And men off gud dyscretyowne
Suld excuse and love Huchowne,

[1] A variant reading here is :—

For the first Autouris to say
Thar storyis quha that will assay
Off Orosius, Martyne and Innocent
Wrait thare storyis diligent
And zit Josaphus all four
That—[etc., as above].

Wyntoun, ed. Laing, vol. iii., appx. p. xxvi.

That cunnand wes in literature.
He made the GRET GEST OFF ARTHURE,
And the AWNTYRE OFF GAWANE,
THE PYSTYLL als OFF SWETE SWSANE.
He wes curyws in hys style
Fayre off facund and subtille
And ay to plesans and delyte
Made in metyre mete his dyte,
Lytill or nowcht nevyrtheles
Waverand fra the suthfastnes.
  Had he cald Lucyus Procurature
Quhare that he cald hym Empyrowre
That had mare grevyd the cadens
Than had relevyd the sentens.
Ane empyroure in propyrté
A comawndoure suld callyd be;
Lucyus swylk mycht have bene kend
Be the message that he send.

—*Wyntoun* v., 4289-4340.

About 1508, in the *Lament for the Makaris*, the poet William Dunbar thus bewails the misdeeds of Death:—

He has done petuously devour
The noble Chaucer of Makaris flouir,
The Monk of Bery and Gower all thre,
Timor mortis conturbat me.

THE GUDE SYR HEW OF EGLINTOUNE,
Et eik Heryot et Wyntoun,
He has tane out of this cuntre,
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Geoffrey Chaucer flourished 1340-1400: John Lydgate, the Monk of Bury (St. Edmunds), flourished 1370-1451: John Gower flourished 1325-1408:—these three being, of course, Englishmen. Sir Hew flourished 1320-1377: Heryot is unknown: Wyntoun flourished about 1360-1424:—three Scotsmen.

IV.—THE NAME HUCHOWN.

With this large body of detail before us concerning Sir Hew of Eglintoun, there should be little difficulty in coming to a decision on the validity of the conclusion reached or endorsed well-nigh a century ago by George Chalmers, in 1806, that he was the person indicated by Wyntoun's reference to Huchown, a conclusion followed by many succeeding critics. My distinguished friend, M. Amours (a colleague in this Society who has

rendered service, the stoutest in Scotland, to alliterative study), recognises in Huchown a Scotsman, though not satisfied that he was Sir Hew. The eminent English philologist, Mr. Henry Bradley neither recognises Sir Hew, nor admits the Scottish nationality of Huchown. The first branch of the present enquiry concerns the name Huchown, to which, as applicable to a relative of a king, two objections have been advanced. One is that, as a form of Hugh, there is no evidence of the name having ever been applied to any person of rank. A second is that, in Wyntoun's context, it is not to be read as a christian name at all but as a surname. It is true that instances occur of Huchon in various spellings, as a name borne by servants. (Amours' *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, introd. lxxiv.) But no proof has been adduced that anywhere it connoted any disparagement or impertinent familiarity. And on the contrary, abundant precedent demonstrates its regular and formal use by persons of rank themselves in the vernacular Scottish of the period immediately following Sir Hew's generation, while on the other hand corresponding instances of Hew, as the form in the vernacular at that time, are still to seek. In the fourteenth century vernacular deeds are so few that the best evidence is almost shut out. Barbour in *The Bruce* in one case uses the name Hew. (*Bruce* ii., 237, 409.) In 1391 we find a person styling himself "Howioun off Fodrygame."[1] At the opening of the fifteenth century, however, a number of vernacular cases may be reckoned such as to make untenable the first objection. The Lords of Lovat[2] used the christian name Huchon in 1416, Huchoune in 1429, and Hew in 1471. So from 1451 until 1454 the worthy man Huchon, Hochon, Hochioun, or Huchone Campbell is a scion of the Loudoun family, whose representative early in the following century is Hew Campbell.[3] It is possible to offer a partial explanation. We must begin in Latin, not with Hugo Hugonis, but with Hugutio Hugutionis, on which Huchon depends. An intermediate French

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(1) *Duke of Roxburgh's MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), 13; also referred to in *Athenæum*, 5th January, 1901.

(2) *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, vol. ii., 178, 2612. John Anderson's *Family of Frisel or Fraser*, 56-64. Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii., Notes, letter F. *Acta Auditorum*, 12. See also *Extracta e variis Cronicis*, 250.

(3) *Duke of Hamilton's MSS.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), 25-27, 34.

form is Hugucion, found in England in 1355.[1] Huchon we know in literature as an Anglo-Norman name, applied, for example, to St. Hugh of Lincoln.[2] The second husband of the widow of Alexander III. of Scotland was named Huon.[3] In Scotland when Ragman Roll was drawn up, in 1296, the French record contains many persons named Huwe or Hewe,[4] but to the same period belongs the form Huch.[5] Grey, author of the *Scalacronica*, has Hughe.[6] In 1321 a French list of Scottish names contains both Heuwe and Huchoun,[7] the former among the "gentifs," the latter among the "serjaunz." It was natural that the vernacular style should, at any rate for a considerable time, as shewn by the usage of the Fraser and Campbell families, have adopted the homelier type, although Hew gained the day at last.

Doublets of the same Romance name are not uncommon. The duplication often results from the well-known fact that in the vernacular languages of Europe nouns were sometimes formed both from the nominative and from oblique cases of Latin words Thus, in France—to be compared with Guido, producing Gui, Gy, Guion, and Guidon—Hugo with its accusative Hugonem produced Hugues, Hues, Hue, Huon, and Hugon.[8] In the old French

(1) Hugutio is a Continental form of Hugo. The canonist Hugutio was an Italian (Mr. Paget Toynbee in *Athenæum*, 16th February, 1901). A papal legate to Great Britain in 1176 was Cardinal Hugo, Hugutio, or Hugezoun Petrileonis (*Decem Scriptores*, 1107, 1433). In Haddan and Stubbs' *Concilia*, ii., 241, he is named Uguccione—the modern spelling which is found as early as Dante's time (*Inferno*, xxxiii., 89). Huguicionis is the (Latin) surname of a Florentine in 1333. (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333-37, p. 124.) In 1355 Lady Clare bequeathed to Clare Hall, Cambridge, "I Hugucion"—a copy of the canonist's treatise (*Royal Wills*, 1780, p. 31). From Hugution-em, through Anglo-French Hugucion and Huchon to the Scottish Huchown, the descent is perfectly natural and philologically regular.

(2) *Hugues de Lincoln*, ed. Michel, Paris, 1834, cited by M. Amours above.

(3) Stevenson's *Hist. Doc. Scot.*, i., 41.

(4) Bain's *Cal.* ii., pp. 198-214.

(5) Bain's *Cal.* ii., p. 216. Note that Huche was a current form of the place-name Hitchin. (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1313-17; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-27.)

(6) Scalacronica, 40. Hughe similarly appears in the *French Chronicle of London*. (*Camden Socy.*), 26, 42.

(7) Bain's *Cal.* iii., 724. Forms in 14th-15th cent. France were Hugue (*Jehan le Bel*, 301), Hue (*Chronique de la Pucelle*, (1859), 265).

(8) Bartsch *Chrestomathie* (1875) 219 has Hugues and Hugon.

romance of *Huon of Bordeaux* the nominative is Hues, the accusative Huon. In the *Roman de Rou* Hue or Huge is the nominative, Huun the accusative. Before the close of the thirteenth century Huon became a nominative. We have seen above that Huch and Hughe are both early forms in Scotland; accordingly we have not only Huchon but Hughon.[1] The anology seems perfect.[2] Hugutio—Hugution-em; Hugo—Hugon-em, Hugues—Hugon; Hues, Hue—Huun, Huon; Hughe—Hughon; Huge, Huch—Huchon, Howjoun; Hutche—Hutcheon.

The declension of proper names was sometimes carried over from Latin and French into Scottish verse at the close of the fourteenth century, though no longer observed as a regular law,[3] and forms at first only proper for the oblique cases established themselves as permanent types irrespective of case.

Historical analysis thus dispels all difficulty. The use of Huchown as a dignified vernacular form is illustrated by concrete examples. But one more remains to be given for its value as shewing that well on in the fifteenth century a reminiscence of the French original of the name curiously emerges. A son of Hew, the third Lord Lovat, was "sirnamed from a long

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(1) Hughonfeld is a Scottish place-name in 1359. (*Exch. Rolls* i., 567.)

(2) Even if Huchon is not an accusative but a diminutive formed just as *cruchon* is from *cruche* (Brachet's *Fr. Dict.*) the explanation is equally effective for the existence of duplicate forms. Compare Hubechon. (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1330-33, p. 421.)

(3) The following instances of declension of personal names will be of service. They are from Barbour's *Troy Fragments* and the *Legends of the Saints* and the *Buik of Alexander* :—

Adastrume, *Troy* ii., 2456.	Stratoclem, *Leg.* xlix. 196.
Agrippyne, *Leg.* i., 312.	Ursum, *Leg.* xxvi., 331.
Desium, *Leg.* xxii., 301.	Emynedoun, *Alex.* 16., (25).
Jhesum, *Leg.* xxiv., 45.	Pyrroun, *Alex.* 105 (3).
Lucam, *Leg.* ii., 228.	Caleoun, *Alex.* 72 (12).
Appolynen, *Leg.* xxvi., 331.	Claroun, *Alex.* 333 (4).
Onesiphorum, *Leg.* xlix., 145.	Betoun, *Alex.* 113 (20).
Theodosiume, *Leg.* xxiii., 423.	Fezony, *Alex.* 158 (22).
Titum, *Leg.* ii., 228.	Ydory, *Alex.* 162 (7).

Many of these were also used as nominatives, e.g., Agrippyne, Appolyne, Emynedoun, Claroun.

The same usage occurs in Huchown's poems, *e.g.*, Archilagon, Neptolon, Patroculun, Polexenun in *Destruction of Troy*, 6449, 10926, 14011, 14013: Kayon in *Morte Arthure*, 2380, etc.

residence in France Hutcheon Franchack," and his posterity were called Slick-Hustein-Frankich.[1] Hew and Huchown are alternating forms of one name. The first half of the fifteenth century saw Huchon in high repute; the second half saw Huchon in rapid decline, and Hew in the ascendant; though for long afterwards the former maintained the unequal struggle for a footing as a distinctly proper name. On the Borders in 1596 we find it as Hutchon, Huchen, Hutcheon, Howchone, Hutchen. One owner of the name signed himself Howchone Grame, and was sometimes known as Hutche[2]—no doubt a familiar contraction. From beginning to end it seems that Huchown is, as a christian name in our island, a distinctively Scottish type, implying neither nickname nor derogation, and constituting an entirely honourable vernacular synonym for the Latin Hugo. Not unknown to English familiar usage,[3] examples of a corresponding *status* to the Scottish in its recognition by official documents have not yet been presented.

V.—THE AWLE RYALE.

The Christian name thus far cleared of all confusion leaves the approaches open to the Awle Ryale—its sense, its geography, and the relation thereto of our claimant Sir Hew. That Awle Ryale, however to be explained, is a vernacular shape of Aula Regis, Regia or Regalis, is common ground with all philologists and historians. Thus it has a pedigree long enough to satisfy the most exacting requirement. In classical Latinity Aula Regia not only meant a palace, but had acquired a secondary sense on the stage[4] as a term of art for a king's abode. How soon it came to be metaphorically a synonym for, and actual forum of, the supreme administrative and legal body in European states we may not stop to trace. In France of the eleventh century the Aula Regis is, as it long remained, the great place of law.[5] In England the

(1) Anderson's *Family of Fraser*, p. 71. Hustein is evidently a form of Uisdean the common name for Hugh in the Highlands (*Athenæum*, 26th Jan., 1901.

(2) *Calendar of Border Papers* ii., Nos. 253, 257, 318, 320, 325, 332, 418, 497. For the signature see No. 320.

(3) Huchon, Hugo, nomen proprium viri.—*Catholicon Anglicum*.

(4) *Vitruvius* v., 7.

(5) Langlois *Textes relatifs a l' Histoire du Parlement (Collection de Textes)*, 5, 43, 225. Compare Thevenin, *Textes Relatifs aux Institutions Privees*, 113.

evolution makes an almost fascinating study. The hall—which appears to be a word of different root from *aula*, and not philologically to be confounded with it—is in England at first, as it was in France, a structure of wood.[1] It acquires not merely in the case of the Royal abode but in baronial and episcopal dwellings a specialized importance as the proper place of law. The analogy from an English residence of the twelfth century to the Aula Regia is particularly striking. "The manor house," says a most learned scholar, "consisted of three parts—the *halla*, the *domus*, the *thalamus*."[2] Hall, house, and chamber:—it is a division with large consequence, for in a few years the Royal palace develops three distinct sets of courtly duties and functionaries—those of the hall, those of the King's house or hospice, and those of the King's chamber. Some of these functionaries acquire jurisdictions far from the palace, and in a broad sense—nay even in the strictest sense—the Aula Regis which began as the King's manor house grows under various names into His Majesty's Government and administers the entire realm. It was to furnish a singularly potent metaphor to constitutional lawyers both in England and this country, who were to dilate upon it considered as a technical term, perhaps rather beyond the actual warrant for their propositions in direct text. But it assuredly had a large and concrete enough place in the law of tenures,[3] while, considered as the seat of the supreme tribunal, Bracton's allusion to the King's court as tantamount to the King's hall[4] (*sicut aulam regiam*) might well excuse the amplification, by Blackstone and the host that followed him, of the original statement. Beyond doubt the King's hall was the centre of all administrative courtly and legal authority, where the great officers of state had each his judicial, practical, financial, or ceremonial function to execute. The *Fleta*, an English law book dating from the opening of the fourteenth century, has a good deal to say[5] of the pleas of the Aula Regia, and labours to define the limits of the rights and tasks of the many offices great and small. Two offices of outstanding magnitude there are, which in Normandy, England, and Scotland alike have, in varying manners and degrees, position in

(1) See *Halla* and *Hallus* in Ducange.

(2) Archdeacon Hale in *Domesday of St. Paul's* (1858) xv., 129.

(3) *Testa de Nevil*, 114, 173, etc.

(4) *Bracton*, 105*b*.

(5) *Fleta*, 66 et seq.

the Aula Regia. These are the offices of Senescallus, or High Steward and Great Justiciar. In England the former of these somehow lost rank. In Scotland—which was not so instinctively addicted to law as England was—the Justiciar suffers by comparison at first with the Constable, then with the Steward, who, historically,[1] appears to be particularly connected with the ceremonial side of the King's hall as well as with the palace domestic management, and legal administration. But that both retained distinctively their association with the Hall Royal is indisputable. The Hall was the chief messuage—a fact which gave it the special legal position it held under feudalism. In the Hall the King took seisin of his realm by his coronation; in the Hall the coronation challenge was (in and after the fourteenth century) made by the champion of England; in the Hall in fact and by metaphor sat the King and his Justiciars. So of an early English bishop we read that in his hall he sat as tribunal, and that scrupulously there it was that all legal formalities were carried through.[2] Though traceable in Scotland only with far inferior detail the same state of matters existed there both in Church and State.[3]

A circumstance, which if not directly important is at least of curious interest, is that by old Scots law the "hyrdman," or man of the court circle, had under the assise of David I. a specially recognised judicial position.[4] Derived from the Anglo-Saxon *hired* or court, the word and its significant association with the hall are both brought before us in the Huchown poem of *Gawane and the Green Knight*, where[5] the green knight astounds "alle the heredmen in halle."

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(1) As to this and the *Aula Regis* generally see John Millar's *English Government*, Blackstone's *Commentaries* Gilbert Stuart's *History of Scotland*, second edition 1784 appx., pp. 33, 41, 42, 82, 106. *Fleta*, 66-79. *Le Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie*, ed. Tardif. 1881., introd. lxx-lxxxi., Ducange *Glossarium* voce Senescallus. Hay's *Vindication of Elizabeth More*, pp. 117-121. Wyntoun calls Joseph the "Stewarde" of Egypt (Wyntoun, ii., 352).

(2) *Roll of Richard de Swinfeld, Bishop of Hereford* (Camden Soc.), abstract lxxiv.-v.

(3) See case of use of the Hall of Trinity friars in 1294: *Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 438.

(4) *Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 317, 359.

(5) Line 302.

In feudal tenures again and again the Mote emerges as the chief messuage[1] and place of law; sometimes, as in the case of Tarbolton, Ayrshire, the hall (*aula*), of which the timbers still remained on the top of the Mote, is itself the chief messuage.[2] What was true of the fief held also of the kingdom. The King's hall in Scotland is at once actual structure—to begin with, of wood—and judicial centre and royal court. The building of a new Hall for Alexander III. is recorded[3] in 1264. The charges[4] for a "dorsar" in the King's Hall (*Aula Regis*) in 1329 show that Robert the Bruce's hall of state (like King Arthur's in Huchown's romance, *The Awntyrs of Arthure*[5]) was provided with "dossours" or wall tapestries "full bright." Repairs of the Hall (*aula domini regis*) are paid for[6] in 1331; lawn for it (*aula regia*) is supplied in the same year[7]; and in 1376 an account was audited by Sir Hew of Eglintoun for the woodwork of the roof[8] of the King's *Aula de Edynburgh.* Meanwhile, too, in the scanty records of the judicial and administrative system we are able to glean the fact that in Scotland as in England there was one set of officials for the King's Hall, and another for the King's hospice or house, while the *camera regis* likewise had its place.[9] The "Kingis Haw" was also the subject of provisions by usage and statute; so much so, that even when King James IV. was under canvas there was a special tent designated the "Kingis Hall."[10] As the supreme judicial forum of the King himself sitting in person, our inadequacy in records leaves us unable to adduce evidences for its use as numerous as could be desired, yet there are enough. King David II. did so sit,[11] and

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(1) The Motes in Norman Scotland (*Scottish Review*, October, 1898).

(2) *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1424-1513, No. 3691.

(3) *Exch. Rolls*, i., 18. (4) *Exch. Rolls*, i., 255.

(5) Line 444. (6) *Exch. Rolls*, i., 360.

(7) *Exch. Rolls*, i., 389 (*bis.*) (8) *Exch. Rolls*, ii., 472.

(9) *Exch. Rolls*, i., 156-7, *senescallus domus domini regis;* i., 389-90, payments or supplies to different officers, *pro aula regia* and *pro camera regia* or *regis*. Ordinances for the royal hospice were of old standing in 1292: *Acts Parl. Scot.* i., 114.

(10) Acts Parl. Scot. i., 710 deals separately with the *aula*, *domus*, and *camera regis*. Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, i., 174, 182, 185, 293, 346. The explanation of the special tent probably is the provision of a special table reserved for a privileged few. Compare in England *Liber Quotidianus Garderobae*, 92, 200, 201.

(11) Acts Parl. Scot. i., 507.

the *Aula Domini nostri Regis* is expressly vouched for[1] as a place of session of the supreme tribunal. That his two justiciars were frequently with him as assessors for his guidance on points of law is an inference hardly capable of doubt. It is natural to give a foremost place to the element of law. The phrase *Awle Ryale* stands so far without a complete parallel, and the nearest approach to one is gained through a legal medium. In old law French, as employed in English plea rolls and year books, Kelham's *Dictionary* has the entry "*Aule*, a hall." Alliterative poems, which are full to the brim of French influence, have such eminently French combinations as "roy reall" and "mounte ryalle," "dese riall" and "sete riall." These quite correspond to the "Siege roial" at Scone named[2] in 1363, styled in Latin[3] in 1292 and 1371 "*Sedes regia.*" To "Awle ryale" the passage is not far, especially when we remember that Wyntoun, the sole employer of the phrase, was himself[4] steeped in the tradition of juridical phrase. Yet after all the legal was only one side of a term so compound; and whilst the ultimate critic will find in every one of the Huchown poems the trace of the lawyer; he will find yet more vivid that of the courtier, and in several he will detect a peculiarly apt recognition of those legal proprieties, courtly regulations, and administrative details which go to make up the Awle Ryale. Nor is the Hall itself forgotten even in its legal connection. In the poem of *Gawane*, it is in King Arthur's Hall at Camelot that the Green Knight demands to "speke raysoun"[5] and delivers his fantastic challenge. In *Morte Arthure*, it is in his hall (in halle) at Carlisle that with notarial signs the Roman senator, with attendant train of knights, as ambassador of the Emperor Lucius Iberius, summons the great romance King of Britain the Broad to appear at Rome on Lammas Day, at prime, "before the King selvyn," to answer why he occupies these lands without the due homage and fealty and tribute recorded in the rolls and register of Rome—a demand laden with allusiveness to

(1) Acts Parl. Scot. i., 508.

(2) Acts Parl. Scot. i., 113, 493. (3) Ibid., i., 545.

(4) See prologue of Wyntoun's ninth book. He has notarial phrases *passim*.

(5) A translated phrase of law; compare *le roy dysoit soun droit. Scalacronica*, 175.

the *Registrum Brevium.*[1] In that hall, too, it is that King Arthur in his council, after seven days, answers the senator by a message to the Emperor, that by Lammas he will be across the channel with his Round Table as an invader, and that soon he will overrun Lorraine and Lombardy and Tuscany, advancing to the siege of Rome—a message which ends by his in turn certifying his summons and appointing for the terrified embassy an exit from England within seven days, assigning them a port to sail from, the length of their days' journeys, their route, and their behaviour on the way, in terms which can only have come from *Bracton* or from *Fleta*, as they are an ingenious adaptation, in studied insult to the majesty of Rome, of the rules for the expatriation of fugitive criminals who have escaped the clutch of secular justice by resort to sanctuary.[2] Finally, the King assures the senator that the safe conduct from Carlisle to the coast which he has granted under his seal will keep them secure as they journey by Watling Street to Sandwich—a road by which Sir Hew of Eglintoun himself had travelled many a time under the sealed safe conduct of Edward III. In the *Awntyrs of Arthure* also the note of law, however poetically disguised, is readily discernible. Again, "Kyng Arthure's Haulle" is the forum of romance litigation wherein Sir Galerun, a dis inherited lord of Galloway, appears demanding "reason and right" in a "challenge" as heir, which Sir Gawain "defends," and which is remitted to the judgment of battle fought in the lists before the King, seated on a "scaffold," and ending in the "concord" not unusual in the chivalric duel,[3] to which it was appropriate. In pleas of land, however, concord was not competent,[4] and the poet is careful in this poem to make the King wait till Sir Galerun is vanquished and has surrendered before rising up to make the peace, accompanying this act with a gift of lands to Sir Gawain,

(1) In the *Brut* of Geoffrey and his translators this demand is not cast into the shape of a summons. *Morte Arthure* follows, of course with the largest poetical license, the main lines of a writ of *Quo Warranto*, and complies with the requisites of a summons in naming a certain time and place: the reference to the rolls and register is a sort of allegation of seisin. "To answer why," see *ad respondendum quo warranto* in *Bracton's Note Book*, plea No. 268, in which curiously provision is made for a summons for the defendant's presence on Lammas morrow—*in crastino S. Petri ad Vincula coram Domino Rege.*

(2) *Morte Arthure* lines, 445, 464. *Bracton*, 135*b*-136. *Fleta*, 45-46. See also the *Furnivall Miscellany*, 383. I believe the passage is from *Fleta.*

(3) Compare Neilson *Trial by Combat*, 226, 270. (4) *Ibid.*, 189.

who "releases" his rights to Galloway and "re-infeoffs" the disinherited Galwegian in Cumnock and Carrick and Cunningham and Kyle. The entire detail here is a skilful poetic blend of law and chivalry, displaying a knowledge not only of legal form but of the code of the chivalric duel "The Maner of Batale." Before David II., in 1368, we have already seen that Sir Hew of Eglintoun actually heard a lord of Galloway (Archibald the Grim) argue about right and reason *(de jure et racione)* with the son and brother of the lord of Cumnock and Carrick and Cunningham and Kyle. Sir Hew also was at least once in close fellowship with an important Scottish duel [1] in the same year, 1368.

VI.—HUCHOWN IDENTIFIED WITH SIR HEW.

In the search for the identification of Wyntoun's "Huchown off the Awle Ryale" there are undoubted difficulties—about the poems, about the poet, and even about his nationality—for our English friends, with that practical admiration for everything great which is so distinctively their characteristic, have never been very willing to let us keep Huchown's work, and latterly have even attempted to carry Huchown himself to Oxford and make him a fellow of Oriel. They must regret that Robert of Ogle, in 1342, let his prisoner, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, go! The bare proposal, however rash and ineffective, to deport Huchown now makes it incumbent on us to look narrowly at our vouchers. Wyntoun does not expressly say that Huchown was a Scot, but his manner makes that inference inevitable and necessary, for his words are more than a criticism—there is in them an allusion clearly personal and even affectionate to one whose individuality was known to Wyntoun himself and intelligible to his Scottish audience. Wyntoun, in short, compels us to look for a poet curious of style, eloquent and subtle, "cunnand in literature"—all epithets of marked propriety as applicable to the three works which Wyntoun names as his: the *Morte Arthure*, the *Gawane*, and the *Pistill of Susan*. These too are so named as to imply that the public whom Wyntoun addressed had knowledge of them. Besides, Wyntoun in one line speaks of Huchown's "cadens," and in another of his "metyre"—words which involve

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(1) *Rot. Scot.* i., 916, 917.

his use of alliteration,[1] for "cadens" was in the fourteenth century the antithesis of rime. Alliteration is, in fact, the outstanding note of Huchown's work, but that does not help us to answer the question who he was. The single external fact of first-rate moment is Dunbar's linking of three English poets (Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower), followed by three Scots (Sir Hew of Eglintoun, Heriot, and Wyntoun), thus placing a poet, Sir Hew of Eglintoun, presumably anterior to 1420. We have besides seen that only one Sir Hew of Eglintoun ever existed, so that our Sir Hew, who flourished between 1320 and 1377, whether he was "Huchown" or not, certainly was a poet. This is a mighty factor in the argument.

The objection that a person of Sir Hew's standing could never have been referred to as Huchown, because of the disparagement such a name implied falls completely when it is shown that no shadow of disparagement exists. The vernacular was homelier than the talk of courts. Unfortunately no vernacular writ names the Knight of Eglintoun. Formal deeds all call the King of Scotland David. A will of date 1361, made in French by Humfray de Bohun, contained a humble legacy to his barber Davy;[2] but standard Scottish chronicles call the King of Scotland "Davy," though writing of him[3] with becoming respect and kindliness to boot. "Men of good discretion," said Wyntoun, "should excuse and love Huchown"—gentle words which the haughtiest emperor might not have scorned to think of graven on his tomb.

The other objection is that Huchown was not the poet's Christian name but his surname. Such a surname did exist. One who bore it was the huntsman[4] of Edward II. Probably there were others yet nearer the educated circle of the Edwardian court, but a thousand such would count for nothing in the absence of evidence of poetic reputation. Equally ineffective would be any aspirant basing his claim on a connection with the Oxford name *Aula Regalis*—itself a fictitious etymology, said to have been used to denote Oriel College.[5] A claimant's prolocutor must not only

(1) Horstman's *Rolle of Hampole*, ii., 345. Chaucer's *House of Fame*, 623. In ryme or elles in cadence. Gower's *Confesssio Amantis* (Pauli ii., 82) of rime and of cadence.

(2) Royal Wills, 53.

(3) Barbour's *Bruce*, xiii., 697. Barbour's *Legends of the Saints*, xl., 942. Wyntoun, viii., 3002, 7175, etc.

(4) John Huchyn, *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1327-30, p. 22.

(5) Mr. Henry Bradley in *Athenæum* of 22nd December, 1900, and my reply of 19th January, 1901.

adduce the man but must prove his title to the epithet adhibited by Wyntoun, and, above all, establish his devotion to verse. Oriel so far has discovered no prospect of ever satisfying any one of these three preliminary conditions, and the royal court of Edward III. has not even pretended an interest in Huchown's laurels.

Sir Hew, on the other hand, meets every call: his name suits; his reputation suits; his life suits. A few lines only need be spent in demonstrating how his biography is summed up and rounded off, as it were, by the epithet "of the Awle Ryale." His youth has its puzzle, but three facts of his career are significant. His life from the first moment of his being heard of in the records, associates him with David II., with Robert the Steward, and with the family of Sir Reginald More. When David II. for safety was taken to France in 1334 Sir Reginald the Chamberlain went too, and was long with the boy monarch in the exiled court at Chateau Gaillard. The young Hew of Eglintoun may easily have been for a time in the service of David II. and his Queen, the sister of Edward III. An English education is in every way possible. Many Scots were long in England as hostages and prisoners. The literary dialect of the court circle of Scotland between 1330 and 1340 no man can determine. One-half of the south of Scotland during most of the reign of Edward III. was actually at the English faith, and alliterative critics may notice that the lordship of Annandale, which almost touched the Steward's province of Carrick, was held by "The hende Erl of Hereford Humfray de Boun," who patronised the translation of *William of Palerne.* They may also notice that the Steward was once on terms of marriage [1] with an English granddaughter of Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, a niece of that Lady Clare who re-founded Clare Hall, Cambridge. The national differences of Scotland and England, profound though they were, did not throw an "unplumbed salt estranging sea" between the culture and family policy of the north and of the south. As regards the relationship between the two courts, nothing is more certain than this, that the critics in England have entirely overlooked the mysteries behind the intrigues over the succession to the Scottish throne. They have leaped to the assumption that in any Scottish bard something of rampant patriotism is to be looked for, the

(1) Scalacronica, 175; Bain's Cal. iii., 492.

absence of which is suspicious. Rather should it be remembered how fond David II. was of "play" in London;

> For thare was rycht gret specialte
> Between hym and the King Edward.[1]

He had good reason for his cordiality, and so had all parties in Scotland. The burden of the ransom was sore, and the nationalists, as well as the King's privy circle, display no small solicitude to avoid action such as might precipitate a crisis. That out of this situation there might even have emerged a poem or two in honour direct or indirect of the Round Table of Edward III., produced by a Scottish poet of the court, seems as absolutely in keeping with the historic surroundings of the time as that Scottish nobles should, in 1363, be receiving cups of gold and silver at the English court, or bargaining about the possible succession of Prince Lionel to the Scottish throne. If in romance, in Huchown's *Morte Arthure*, the King of Scotland brings fifty thousand men "within two eldes"[2] to support King Arthur against Rome; in veritable fact Scotland in 1365 obliged herself to support England against invasion with 600 bowmen and 400 horse. We repeat that we do not yet know the full purport of that "rycht gret specialte," and that such a simple possibility as the grant of a Garter to the Scottish King or a Scottish lord, if it emerged from some hidden corner of record, might remove the last shadow of obscurity from a mighty chapter of literary history.

But to return to Sir Hew, who stands in no need of any hypothetical Garter to establish his connection with the Awle Ryale. His position at court was one of modest dignity. He was not exactly a great nobleman, even under Robert II., for his rank as a witness to royal charters places him usually far down the scale of precedence. As one of the two Justiciars, he ranked after the great lords and knights. Under David II. he does not appear to have reached the inmost circle of influence at court with the King, being perhaps not such a favourite as Sir Robert of Erskine, and cer-

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(1) Wyntoun, viii., 7050.

(2) That is, within "youth" and "middle elde," or between 16 and 60 (*Bower*, ii., 172.; *Rot. Scot.*, i., 236). Acts Parl. Scot., i., 497. Observe that in Geoffrey, Hoel of Brittany, promising 60,000 men, comes before the King of Scotland, promising 2,000. In *Morte Arthure* (line 288), the Scottish King, promising 50,000, ranks first in the list of vows in answer to the King's appeal, and is followed by Hoel, promising 30,000.

tainly maintaining the closest footing with Robert the Steward—a fact which most likely made a wary bearing necessary throughout the period after David's capture at Durham in 1346. Yet that he was on the best of terms with King David all the facts confirm. Whatever be the explanation of the series of intrigues, it certainly seems probable that David II., the Earl of Douglas, and Edward III. alike regarded Sir Robert of Erskine as a party to the "band" of 1363-4, that Sir Hew gave his aid and counsel to the Steward at that critical juncture, that his influence with Sir Robert was steadily in the Steward's interest, and that the politic but loyal discretion of Sir Hew had its share in preparing that surprise for the Earl of Douglas, which came when, on the death of King David, Sir Robert of Erskine, as castellan of the three great fortresses—Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton—declared for the Steward and threw over any remnant of the confederacy which David II. had certainly reckoned his, and which the Earl of Douglas also may have relied upon. At once Sir Hew takes a new place more identified than ever with the court. His membership of the Privy Council of Robert II., his constant attendance at court, his holding office as an auditor, the financial indebtedness of the King to him, the charters in his favour, over and above his kinship by marriage to the King, and his old offices as Chamberlain and Bailie of Cunningham and Irvine, and as Justiciar of Scotland, unite to show that he possessed in the fullest measure the royal trust, and exercised functions—legal, financial, and administrative—such as to associate him specially with the court on almost all its many sides. His earliest public appearance connects him with the Chamberlain of Scotland, his career shows him ever an intimate of the Steward. He attained judicial dignity under David II., and was honoured and promoted by Robert II. His public life was begun under court influences, which carried him forward to its close; and unless we mistrust the word of Wyntoun, unless we mistrust Dunbar's epithet of "the good," this official lifetime had in it features to evoke men's affection, while, at the same time, they admired—as well they might—the scholarship, the unique style, the power of "cadence," the appropriate "metre," and the pervading purity and beauty of the poems of "Huchown off the Awle Ryale."

VII.—Huchown as a Poet.

It was a happy circumstance that Wyntoun, in naming three poems by Huchown, chose three which differ greatly in matter, measure, and style. *Morte Arthure* is wholly in cadence—if cadence indeed be simple alliteration without rime. *Gawane*—if it be *Gawane and the Green Knight*—is chiefly in alliteration also, but in its 2,530 lines it has 88 half-lines, four of which rime *abab* at the end of each of the twenty-two stanzas. *The Awntyrs of Arthure* (which some critics take to be the *Awntyrs of Gawane*) is alliterative likewise, but rimed throughout in a complicated and cleverly-handled form of verse, requiring so much art and skill that it is perfectly astounding to hear a first-class English philologist declare that the poem, in its present form, has been re cast from an unrimed original. It has nine full lines and four half-lines, all riming, and all (except an occasional half-line here and there), alliterative. Almost exactly the same verse structure is employed in the *Pistill*, differing only in this, that the ninth line is a "bob" line of only two syllables.

The *Morte Arthure* is of chief importance as the central poem, establishing not only the author's poetic evolution, but also, in view of Wyntoun's unmistakable reference to, and quotation[1] from it, giving a basis of certainty to the processes necessary to determine the other works which came from the same diligent pen. Elsewhere I have worked out the wonderful evolution proving that the well-known alliterative translation of the *Destruction of Troy* (from which John Barbour in 1376, culled some phrases[2] for his *Bruce*), preceded a poem on the *Siege of Jerusalem*, and that the *Morte Arthure* made use of both these poems. All three are in one measure, the alliterative plainsong of a considerable part of Huchown's work. To attempt to analyse these poems now is impossible. It is enough to say that while the *Destruction of Troy* is direct translation on the whole faithful, the *Siege of Jerusalem* introduces a great many elements not in the sources employed, and the best parts of *Morte Arthure* are the poet's own brilliant embellishment of the story of Arthur and Lucius Iberius, contained in the *Brut* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. A subsequent

(1) Wyntoun, v., 4273-290. *Morte Arthure*, 30-47., and compare varients in Wyntoun (ed. Laing), vol. iii., appx. pp. xxvi-vii.

(2) Neilson, *John Barbour, Poet and Translator*, 10, 11.

work of extraordinary interest is the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, which evinces its authorship by Huchown through the number of lines and epithets, the same as lines and epithets in *Gawane*, in the *Destruction of Troy*, the *Siege of Jerusalem*, and the *Morte Arthure*, besides using the same authorities, and the identical verse structure of the latter four poems. A pictorial and dramatic contrast of the views of life entertained by Youth, Middle Age, and Age, it is modelled upon an episode in the *Destruction of Troy*, and through the machinery of a dream shews a debate between the three, Youth in Green, Middle Age in Grey, Age in Black. And Age preaches a majestic sermon from that mighty text of the middle ages, the text of Death, and proclaims that all is vanity, by what is in substance an analysis of the whole range of late Latin and Old French romance, current in the fourteenth century. In any view it is a very noble proof of romance-study in Britain; as viewed from the stand-point to which my own studies have led a very plain man's thought, it is a crowning monument of the culture of the Stewart court—that Awle Ryale to which posterity thought fit to link an immortal name.

Chaucer was not yet heard; England had listened to some strange voices which spoke in alliteration; only one supreme poem had been written or was being written, that, viz: of William Langland, the great alliterative poet of the south. A first edition of *Piers the Plowman* may have appeared about the time when the *Destruction of Troy* was being written, and the great alliterative poet of the north was working away at translations as diligently as, somewhat later, Barbour and Chaucer and Lydgate were each to do. It was not an age of much inventiveness; there were stock themes, regarded not as national, but as cosmopolitan—Alexander and Hector and Arthur and Charlemagne. Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians sang the praise of Arthur; Englishmen retailed the royal deeds of Charlemagne. The nations of the earth for once agreed on a set of chivalric ideals. To each Huchown gave his contribution, not repelled from King Arthur because Carlisle was in England. A king in Romance-Land held a wide sway not yet circumscribed by the scruples, either of simple fact or reluctant patriotism. If we ask what of actual contribution of his own to the airy structure of romance did Huchown make, the answer must be manifold. When he was, in the strictest manner, following a Latin or French original, are we to forget our debt of gratitude to one, who, in the middle of the fourteenth century,

thus did sound journey-work for literature? Is the *Destruction of Troy* less a great poem because it, on the whole with such fidelity, transforms the story of Guido of Colonna's prose into alliterative verse, with many a noble turn of phrase, with many an ornament? Is the *Siege of Jerusalem* less powerful as a picture of that terrible event, because its beautiful episode of Veronica and the cure of Titus and Vespasian is drawn partly from the *Legenda Aurea*, and partly from an older source, while its ground-work comes, to a great extent, from Hegesippus? The whole is suffused in the poet's own furnace, and a unity rises out of dissonance. And then we come to *Morte Arthure.* Perhaps in spite of its steady adhesion in outline to Geoffrey of Monmouth, perhaps just because it wavered so little from the tradition of "soothfastness" in that amazing source of a thousand romances, *Morte Arthure* is, with its borrowed "avows"—brought from the *Voeux du Paon*—its unborrowed scenes of knightly battle, and its loftily original portraiture of a sea fight, probably the high watermark of Arthurian romance; which is to say a very great thing, for the Arthurian ocean is wide and deep. Certainly *Morte Arthure* is a sharply defined and powerful wave which towers along the deep, the green billow sparkling with the sunlit colours of historic fancy, and the white crest agleam with the light which seldom was on sea or land. Yet not in his martial mood, it is in his softer, sweeter, half-sad, almost always religious mood that the charm of Huchown chiefly lies, and some day when the *Life and Works of Huchown* are to be found in popular editions on the same shelf with Langland and Chaucer, and Shakspeare and the gentle Walter Scott, we shall wonder that we have been so long in discovering the earliest and not the meanest of their quality.